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A study of the influences of Lucretius and Epicurean philosophy on Vergil

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"A Study Of
The Influences Of Lucretius And Epicurean Philosophy On Vergil"

[Submitted for requirements stipulated]
for 'Magna cum Laude' in Latin.

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(#) These texts are the source for all references to and quotations from the original Latin of Lucretius and Vergil.

"A Study Of
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The outstanding poets of the world since the beginning of civilization have owed much of their greatness to the genius of both greater and lesser personalities preceding them. Whether in style, in thought or in the mere mechanics of language, a few certain first beginnings of literature have left unmistakable and ineradicable impressions on the enduring works of every race long after they themselves have lost their pristine importance, and possibly even after they have ceased to be extant. The earliest works of Greek authors left to us are obviously too near perfection to have sprung up spontaneously without some still earlier and cruder efforts marking a source. In the literature of the modern languages the field is of course colored by the classics but, in spite of this, we are able to see how dependent the greatest writers have been on some obscure figure far back in the literary history of a race.

(1)
The only source of all the English and Scottish historical plays which Shakespeare wrote was the "Chronicle" of Holinshed, an historian who is known to the reading world chiefly because Shakespeare adopted plots from him. Hamlet was borrowed from Saxo Grammaticus, the earliest Chronicler of Denmark. So too have similar influences, equally obscure in themselves, permeated the works of other truly great dramatists and poets.

(2)
Indeed according to Lowell a great poet is an accident dependent upon time and circumstances. That is, his greatness is limited by the character of the age in which he lives, by the flexibility of the language which

(1) Meiklejohn P.21, Intro.to Macbeth.

(2) J.R.Lowell's "Among my Books" P.154, Houghton Mifflin Co.1898.

2.
has been prepared for him, and by his own personal talents and native ability.

If this be true the "fata et fortuna divina", which are so prominent in the Aeneid, must have conspired together to bring P. Vergilius Maro into the world to live and write during the golden age of Augustus. Then it was that the philosophy of the Greeks exerted its profoundest influence, when poetry was prized above all other arts, when the Latin language had reached that state of development needing only the hand of a master artist to bring it to utmost perfection necessary for the writing of a great epic, and when the buoyancy of the national life of Rome was calling for such an epic to be both a Chronicle and a literary masterpiece. Thanks to a host of lesser writers the literature of Rome had become a literature and not just a studied imitation of the Greek.

Into all of Vergil's writing poured the streams of many influences, literary, historical, and philosophical, both Greek and Latin. Disregarding the relative importance of these influences let us consider Vergil's indebtedness to Epicurean philosophy, to Lucretius the greatest Roman exponent of Epicurus, and the poet to whom Vergil owes most.⁽¹⁾ Apparently here again circumstances have entered largely into the matter. Just sixteen years after the birth of Vergil the *De Rerum Natura* was in the hands of Cicero for editing and it is said that on the day Vergil assumed the toga virilis Lucretius died. What may have been the influence of such a coincidence if any on Vergil we do not know, though it is certain that the early education of the boy did much to turn his interest to that particular philosophy expounded by Epicurus and defended by Lucretius. One of his first teachers was Siro, an Epicurean, who taught him philosophy and during his earlier years his conception of life was almost entirely Epicurean. This of course we may ascribe to the effect of his philosophical training and to his enthusiastic allegiance to the prin-
T.R. Glover's "Vergil" ch. II P. 60.

3. ciples of Lucretius' great poem the "De Rerum Natura".

Vergil undoubtedly must have studied Lucretius profoundly. Munro says, "Vergil read Lucretius with the close care of admiration and affection".⁽¹⁾ Glover says, "When there appeared such a poem as that of Lucretius great every way in its grasp of principles, in its exposition of the philosophy to which Vergil had so joyfully looked forward, in its minute and sympathetic observation of nature, in its thoroughly stalwart Roman temper, and its brilliant handling of Latin metre, it is not surprising that Vergil was captured by it and remained its captive for many a year".⁽²⁾ Speaking of a crisis in Vergil's affairs which came while he was writing the Ciris Tenney Frank says, "Perhaps a copy of Lucretius brought him to a stop. Lucretius he certainly had been reading - - - and the spell of that poet he never escaped."⁽³⁾

Modern criticism seems unanimous in recognizing the strong influence which Lucretius and his Epicurean philosophy had on Vergil. Geikie says, "The great poem of Lucretius so powerfully impressed him as to leave strong traces of its influence on his poetry. Occasionally this influence manifests itself in direct and frank imitation".⁽⁴⁾ Munro says, "When the Nature of Things was published Vergil was fifteen years of age. At such an age therefore the style and manner of Lucretius were able to impress themselves fully on the younger poet's susceptible mind; and perhaps the highest eulogy which has ever been passed on the former is that constant imitation of his language and thought which pervades Vergil's works from one end to the other".⁽⁵⁾ Glover in discussing the effect of

(1) Munro ad Lucr. III 57 (7)

(2) Glover ch I P. 21.

(3) Tenney Frank "Vergil" ch V. P. 47.

(4) Sir Archibald Geikie "Love of Nature Among the Romans" ch III P. 62-3.

(5) Munro Notes to Lucretius II P. 19 of Introd.

4. Alexandrine poetry on Vergil says, "His mind was too Italian to yield to the Alexandrine manner and the viril example of Lucretius guarded his thought and style from its dangers", ⁽¹⁾ and Munro on the same subject says, "It is owing probably in great measure to his admiration for Lucretius that Vergil and thereby Latin poetry were saved from falling even more than they did under this baneful influence". ⁽²⁾ But Professor Sellar grows more enthusiastic than all when he says "The influence, direct and indirect, exercised by Lucretius on the thought, composition and even the diction of the Georgics was perhaps stronger than that ever exercised, before or since, by one great poet on the work of another." ⁽³⁾ Glover says that "from Gellius onward critics have remarked his indebtedness to Lucretius." ⁽⁴⁾ But perhaps the clearest and certainly the most authentic of all testimony to this influence on Vergil is to be found in his own works; particularly in the Georgics II 475 ff does the poet own his debt to his predecessor for scarcely a line in the whole passage but is copied directly from the De Rerum Natura or at least inspired by it, (The following are the individual lines of the passage with the probable source from the De Rerum Natura:)

Me vero primum dulces ante annia Musae
 quarum sacra fero ingenti percussus Amore Accipiant,
 (Geo. II 475-6.)
 sed acri Percussit thyrsos laudis spes magna meum cor
 et simul incussit suavem me in pectus amorem Musarum.
 (Lucr. I. 922-4)
 caelique vias et sidera monstrent - - - - -
 (Geor. II 476)
 Motibus astrorum nunc quae sit causa - - - - -
 (Lucr. V 509)

(1) Glover ch. I P. 19-20.

(2) Munro F. 8 Intro. to Notes II.

(3) W. Y. Sellar "The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age". ch. VI P. 199.

(4) Glover ch. II P. 61.

defectus solis varios lunaeque labores; (Geor. II 478)

Solis item quoque defectus lunaeque latusque etc. (Lucr. V 751)

Solis uti varios cursus lunaeque mentus Noscere. (Lucr. V 773)

unde tremor terris ~~XXXXXX~~ - - - - - (Geor. II 481)

quae ratio ~~terre~~ motibus extet. - - - - - (Lucr. VI 535)

quid tantum Oceanus properant se tingere soles

hiberni, vel quae tardis mori noctibus obstet. (Geor. II 481-2)

Crescere itaque dies licet et tabescere noctes

et minui lucas, cum sumant aequina noctes. - - (Lucr. V 680-1)

Felix qui potuit regum cognoscere causas

atque metus annis et inexorabile fatum

subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari. (Geor. II 490-3)

Hunc igitur terrorem animi tenebrasque necessast

non radii solis neque lucida tela diei

discutrant, sed natura species ratioque. (Lucr. VI 39-41)

Glancing at this passage as a whole one can see how thoroughly Lucretian in spirit it is. Morley says that it is to Lucretius himself⁽¹⁾ and to inspiration drawn from him that Vergil refers in this passage. Munro says "Vergil's whole mind when he was writing the second Georgic⁽²⁾ must have been saturated with the poetry of Lucretius". Following the custom of Lucretius ~~however~~ he uses an invocation addressed to mythological divinities beseeching them to unfold the marvels and mysteries of the universe and should this be denied he asks for the purely Epicurean ideal, a life of happiness and pleasure, far removed from strife and trouble. In the Georgic III 288-94 he realizes the difficulty of his task but he aspires to the lonely heights of Parnassus whence no pathway trodden by former poets led down to the Castilian spring. This short passage,

(1) Morley P. 6 Intro. to Dryden's Aeneid.

(2) Munro P. 38 Intro. to Notes II.

6. (1) which from its context might well have come with that main one under discussion is clearly imitated from (Lucr. I 922-30) (2) In commenting on Vergil's passage Geor. II 490-4 Geikie says "looking at the poem of Lucretius he felt how happy that poet must have been in having been able to discover the causes of things and having cast beneath his feet all fear, and memorable fate and the clamor of greedy death". (3) The above passages are typical indications of the powerful impression left by Lucretius on the Georgic. Indeed all his earlier works show many of the same traces of imitation, possibly because of the esteem in which he held Lucretius, (4)

(1) Geor. III 251 sed me Iarnasi devertit per ardua dulcis
 raptat amor; iuvatire iugis quo nulla priorum
 Castaliam molli devertitur orbita clivo.
 nunc, veneranda Fales, magno nunc ore sonandum.

(2) Lucr. I 922-30 sed acri Percussit thyrsos laudis spes magna meum cor
 et simul incussit suavem mi in pectus amorem
 musarum quo nunc instinctus mente vigenti
 avia Pieridum peragro loca nullius ante
 trita solo.

(3) Geikie ch. III P. 63.

(4) Sellar ch. VI P. 201. "He would thus seem to have looked on Lucretius with something of that veneration with which Lucretius regards Epicurus, Empedocles, and Ennius, and with which Dante long after regarded Vergil himself".

and surely because of the many feelings which the two greatest Roman poets held in common. Sellar lists these as "the love of nature, the love of study, especially the study of ancient poetry and of science, a natural shrinking from the pomp and luxury of city life and from the schemes of worldly ambition, an abhorrence of the crimes and violence of civil war".⁽¹⁾ At any rate the influence is both great and apparent and among the first and most noticeable of Vergil's imitations is the song of Silenus in the sixth eclogue, particularly the lines 31-40

Namque canebat, uti magnum per inane coacta
 semina terrarumque animaeque marisque fuissent
 et liquide simul ignis; ut his exordia primis
 omnia et ipse tener mundi concraverit orbis;
 tum durare solum et discludere nerea ponto
 coeperit et rerum paulatim sumere formas;
 iamque novom terrae stupeant lucescere solam,
 altius utque eadant summotis nubibus imbres
 onciplant silvae cum primum surgere, cumque
 rara per ignaros errent animalia montis.

The rhythm is quite Lucretian and the treatment reminiscent of *Lucr.* V 416 ff on the creation of the world. Possibly still more striking imitation is Vergil's account of a great cattle plague *Geor.* III 478ff, evidently taken from *Lucr.* VI 1138 ff on the plague at Athens. The passages are too long to quote for comparison but in both spirit and diction they are unusually similar. So too are many other pictures, lines or phrases too be found on almost every page of Vergil. Sidgwick lists 35 such imitations said to be taken directly from Lucretius.⁽²⁾

Vergil owes much to Lucretius in his treatment of Nature. By birth and inclination Vergil was rustic and very naturally was attracted to the works of such a one that "among all the poets of ancient or

(1) Sellar ch. VI P. 201.

(2) Sidgwick . P. 24 Intro. to *Georgics*.

8. modern time, he stands out as the one who may, perhaps most fittingly
 and in the widest sense, be called the poet of Nature". It is significant then that "by none of the Latin poets were the landscapes sketched
 so often as by Vergil".⁽²⁾ This is obvious particularly in the eclogues and the Georgics. In the latter "the Lucretian idea of Nature both in
 its philosophical and poetical aspects runs through".⁽³⁾ In the Aeneid likewise we find analogy in the observations on Nature. For instance note the apparent similarity of the following description of a storm:-

"principio venti vis verberat incita portus
 ingentisque ruit navis et nubilia differt
 interdum rapido sternit montisque supremos
 silvifragis verat flabris" Lucr.I 270-75

and

"Incute vim ventis summersaeque obrue puppeo
 Aut age diversos et disice corpora ponto----
 ---venti - - ruunt et terras turbine perflant.

(A.I 69-70 and 83)

In either passage the roar of the storm, the fury of the wind and the destruction that follows after it ring with equal force. Vergil seems to imitate Lucretius' "vertice torto" (I 293) in the Aen.VII 567 "torto vertice torrens". Lucr.I 287 has "validus cum viribus" and A.V 368 has "vastis cum viribus". Again Vergil paints charming pictures of adolescent youth with the exactness that characterizes Lucretius' careful observation. The latter has "inpubem molli pubescere veste" Lucr.V 672 as well as tum demum puero illi aevo florente inventas occipit et molli vestit lanugine malas". Lucr.V 888-9 while Vergil says "Tum mihi prima genas vestibat flore iuventas (A.VIII 160) and also "ora puer prima signans intensa iuventa (A. IX 181)

(1) Geikie ch.III P.52

(2) " ch.III P.57

(3) Sellar ch.VI P.208.

One of the most exquisitely beautiful observations on Nature given to us by Lucretius is strikingly mirrored by Vergil. The former has - - - -

" primum aurora novo cum spargit lumine terras
et variae volucres nemora avia pervolitant
aera per tenorum liquidis loca vocibus opplent.

(Lucr.II 142-5)

and Vergil says

"Et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras- - - Aurora".

(A.IX 459)

as well as

"Iamque - - - Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis

- - - - -

- - - variis circumque supraque

Adsuetae ripis volucres et fluminis alveo

Aethera mulcebant cantu lucoque volabant".

(A.VII 26 and 32-4)

In spirit, in rhythm and in diction the passages are almost identical. Perhaps here more than in any other instance we see something of Lucretius' poetic and descriptive power which so attracted Vergil, and also something of the beauty and grace which so impressed him thus molding the musical cadences of the Aeneid.

By the quotations from modern critics which I have used above it seems (See P.4) that there is no question in regard to the Epicurean influence on the earlier writings of Vergil. For the most part however the opinion seems to be that Vergil ⁽¹⁾ got away from this influence by the time he began to write the Aeneid. Perhaps his philosophy of life did change but we must remember the words of Sidgwick who intimates that the Lucretian influence was mainly threefold:-

(a) "In diction, where he deliberately imitates or where a subtle or unconscious memory of Lucretius has determined the choice of a word or the turn of a phrase.

(b) In metre, where the rhythm of Lucretius with its dignity and

(1) This view is held by Sellar, Conington, Glover and Norden.

beauty inspired some of the best of Vergil's verse.

(c) In the thoughts, which though Vergil does not accept all nevertheless left their influence". It is apparent then that whatever else Vergil may owe to Lucretius it is doubtful if anything can surpass or even equal the debt to him for the preparation of a language. Great as was Lucretius the poet he found himself circumscribed by a Latin crude and inflexible, ill fitted to the uses of poetry, as he himself expresses it, ⁽¹⁾ "patrii sermonis egestas" It was he who with infinite toil hammered out the crudities and literally forced it to say what it would not; it was he who effected the conquest of the Latin hexameter, ⁽²⁾ who contributed simplicity and dignity, ⁽³⁾ and who added the sound and terror to the thunderbolt of Roman speech. Hence when Vergil chose the hexameter as the vehicle for his poetry it is only natural that he should turn to the one great Roman poet who had mastered this particular metre and whose one great poem was almost purely an epic in the breadth of its undertaking. Certainly then no critic will fail to recognize the influence of the *De Rerum Natura* as poetry on the *Aeneid*. I have already cited a few instances of imitation, Conington finds over two-hundred scattered throughout the *Aeneid* with the number increasing in the latter books. I have found scattered through Munro's Notes to Lucretius at least eighty-six instances and of course there are many more. The phrases which I give below impressed me in particular because of the verisimilitude between them and some expression in Lucretius.

(Passages in *Aeneid* apparently copied from *Lucr.*)

Lucr. I, 2. caeli subter libentra signa

Aen. III, 515 Sidera - - - tacito labentia caelo

Lucr. I, 34 aeterno devictus vulnere amoris

Aen. VIII, 394 aeterno fatur devinctus amore.

(1) *Lucr.* I, 833

(2) J.W. Mackail, "Vergil" ch. III, P. 27.

(3) Glover ch. II, P. 62.

11.
 Lucr.I,34 suspiciens tereti cervice.
 A.VIII,633 tereti cervice reflexam.
- Lucr.I, 38 recubantem corpore sancto circumfusa,
 A.VIII,406 coniugis infusus gremio.
- Lucr.I, 66 Graius homo
 A.X,720 " "
- Lucr.I,74 immensum peregravit mente animoque
 A.VI, 11 magnam cui mentem animumque
- Lucr.I,77 alte terminus haeret
 A.IV 614 hic terminus haeret
- Lucr.I, 135 Morte obita quorum tellus amplectitur ossa,
 A.X, 641 morte obita(V,31) tellus gremio complectitus ossa
- Lucr.I, 149 principium cuius hinc nobis exordia sumet,
 A.IV,284 quae prima exordia sumet.
- Lucr.I,231 - - - unde aether sidera pascet
 A.I, 608 polus dum sidera pascet.
- Lucr.I,253 montibus ex altis magnus decursus aquai
 A. III 523 ubi decursu rapido de montibus altis
- Lucr.I 287 validis cum viribus
 A. V,368 vastes cum viribus.
- L
 Lucr.I, 293 vertice torto Corripiunt
 A. VII, 567 torto vertice torrens,
- Lucr.I, 406 institurunt vestigia certa viai
 A. XI, 573 vestigia plantis Institerat.
- Lucr.I,920 et lacrimis salsis unectent ora genasque
 A. XI, 90 lacrimans guttisque unectat grandibus ora.

- Lucr. I, 923 percussit thyrsos laudis ^fscos magna
 A. IX, 197 magno laudum percussus amore.
- Lucr. I, 971 id validis utrum contortum viribus ire
 A. II 50 validis ingentem viribus hastam- - - contorsit
- Lucr. II, 16 hoc aevi quocumque
 A. I, 73 quodcumque hoc regni.
- Lucr. II, 41 belli simulacra cientis
 A. V, 674 belli simulacra ciebat,
 A. V, 585 pugnaeque cient simulacra.
- Lucr. III, 114 cum solis lumina cumque Inserti fundunt radii per opaca ^{domorum}
 A. III, 151 qua se Plena per insertas fundebat luna fenestras.
- Lucr. II, 158 per inane- - - vacuum
 A. XII, 906 vacuum per inane.
- Lucr. II, 144 primum aurora novo cum spargit lumine terras.
 A. IX, 459 Et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras- - aurora.
- Lucr. II, 214 abrupti nubibus ignes Concursant
 A. III, 199 ingeminant abruptis nubibus ignes.
- Lucr. II, 353 uricremas propter mactatus concidit aras
 A. IV, 453 turicremis cum dona imponeret aris.
- Lucr. II, 354 sanguinis expirans calidum de pectore flumen
 A. IX, 414 vomens calidum de pectore flumen.
- Lucr. II, 375 mollibus undis - - - Pavit
 A. IX, 817 mollibus extulit undis.
- Lucr. II, 601 sedibus in curru biugos agitata leones.
 A. III, 113 Et iuncti currum dominae subiere leones.

- Lucr.II, 639 aeternumque daret matri sub pectore vulnus
 A. I, 36 aeternum servans sub pectore vulnus.
- Lucr.II, 869 ipsa manu ducunt
 A. III, 372 ipse manu- - - - ducit
- Lucr.III, 44 si fert ita forte voluntas
 A. VI, 675 si fert ita corde voluntas.
- Lucr.III, 289 ex oculis micat acribus ardor
 A. XII, 102 oculis micat acribus ignis.
- Lucr.III, 596 in taetro tabescent odore
 A. III, 228 vox taetrum dira inter odorem.
- Lucr.III, 996 qui petere a populo fascēs saevasque secures
 A. VI, 819 consulis imperium hic primus salvasque secures Occidit
- Lucr.III, 1012 eructans faucibus aestus
 A. VI, 297 Aestuat atque omnen Coeyto eructat haerentem.
- Lucr.III, 1934 Scipiadas, belli fulmen,
 A. VI, 842 geminos, duo fulmina belli, Scipiadas.
- Lucr.IV, 101 extrema, imaginibus missis consistere rerum,
 Lucr.IV, 104 Sunt igitur formae, rerum similesque Effigiae
 A. VI, 292 tenuis sine corpore vires Admonet volitare cava sub
 imagine formae.
- Lucr.IV, 168 caeli Tempestas - - - fit turbida foeda
 A. XII, 283 it toto turbida caelo Tempestas telorum.
- Lucr. IV, 175 independent atrae formidinis ora superne
 A. XII, 335 circumque atrae formidinis ora.
- Lucr.IV, 368 lumine cassus

A. II, 85 cassum lumine

Lucr.IV, 377 spoliatur lumine terra

A. XII, 935 corpus spoliatum lumine.

Lucr.IV, 545 cum tuba depresso graviter sub murmure mugit

A. VIII, 526 Tyrrhenusque tubal mugire- - - clangor

Lucr.IV, 576 Querimus et magna dispersos voces clemus

A. III, 68 Condimus et magna suprimum voce clemus.

Lucr.IV, 580 haec loco caperipedes satyros nymphasque tenere

A. VIII, 314 haec memora indigenae fauni nymphasque tenebant.

Lucr.IV, 583 taciturna silentia

A. IV, 255 tacitae per amica silentia lunae

Lucr.IV, 681 promissa canum vis

A. IV, 132 odora canum vis

Lucr.IV, 843 et contra conferre manu certamina pugnae

A. VII, 604 Getis inferre manu lacrimabile bellum

A. X, 146 inter sese cūri certamina belli Contulerant.

Lucr.IV, 905 multaque per trocleas et tympana pondere magno Commovit.

A. IX, 512 Laxa quoque infeste volvebant pondere

A. X, 381 magno vellit dum pondere saxum.

Lucr.IV, 907 somnus per membra quietem Inrigat

A. I, 691 placidam per membra quietem Inrigat.

Lucr.IV, 967 proelia obire

A. VI, 167 pugnas obibat

Lucr.IV, 1049 omnes- - - cadunt in vulnus

A. X, 488 corruit in vulnus

- Lucr.IV, 1127 aure includuntur teriturque thalassina vestis
 A. XII, 210 artificis manus acre decoro inclusit
- Lucr.IV, 1237 conspergunt aras adolentque altaria donis
 A. V, 54 strueremque suis altaria donis
 A. XI, 59 cumulatque altaria donis.
- Lucr.V, 30 et Dionedis equi spirantes naribus ignem
 A. VII, 280 Geminosque iugalis- - - spirantes naribus ignem.
- Lucr.V, 33 asper, acerba tuens, immani corpore serpens.
 A. IX, 794 asper acerba tuens retro redit
 A. VIII, 330 asperque immani corpore Thybris.
- Lucr.V, 113 expediam dictis
 A.379and A.VI, 759 expediam dictis,
- Lucr.V, 163 et ab imo evertere
 A. II, 625 et ex imo verti
- Lucr.V, 174 in tenebris vita maerore iacebat.
 A. II, 92 vitam in tenebris luctuque trahebam.
- Lucr.V, 295 pedentes lychini claraeque coruscis
 A.I, 726 dependent lychni laquearibus aureis
- Lucr. V, 375 immani et vasto - - - hiatu
 A. VI, 237 vastioque immanis hiatu
- Lucr.V, 466 subtexunt nubila caelum
 A. III, 582 caelum subtexere fumo
- Lucr.V, 631 cum signis tendere cursum
 A. XII, 909 avidos extendere cursus.
- Lucr.V, 1130 regere imperio
 A.VI, 851 regere imperio

16.
 Lucr.V, 1190 noxet noctis signa severa
 A. VII, 138 tum noctem noctisque orientia signa.
- Lucr.V, 1276 sic- - - tempora rerum
 A.VII, 37 quae tempora rerum.
- Lucr.V, 1318 iaciebant corpora saltu
 A. II, 565 corpora saltu Ad terram misere.
- Lucr.V, 1237 infracta tela - - -tinguentes
 A. X, 731 infraetoque tela cruentat
- Lucr.V, 1333 gravi terram constermere casu.
 A. XII 543 late terram consternere tergo.
- Lucr.V, 1406 ducere multimodis voces et flectere cantus
 A.IV, 463 longas in flētum ducere voces.
- Lucr.V, 1454 protrahit - In medium
 A. II, 123 Protrahit in medios.
- Lucr.VI, 46 percipe porro
 A. IX, 190 percipe porro
- Lucr.VI, 95 insigni Capiam - - - laude
 A.I, 625 insigni laude ferebat
- Lucr.VI, 131 torvum senitum- - - repente
 A. VII, 399 torvumque repente Clamat.
- Lucr.VI, 155 flammam crepitante crematur
 A. II, 74 flamma crepitante cremari
- Lucr.VI, 630 cumpluit in terris
 A. X, 807 dum pluvit in terris.
- Lucr.VI, 690ff. fert itaque ardorem longe longeque favillam

	differt et crassa volvit caligne fumum
	extruditque simul mirando pondere saxo;
A. III, 571ff	sed horrificis iuxta tonæ Aetnae ruinis
	interdumque atram prorumpit adæthæra nubem
	turbine fumantem piceo et candente favilla, attolitque
Lucr. VI, 743	remigi pennarum
A. I, 301	Remigio alarum.
Lucr. VI, 900	nocturna ad lumina linum
A. VII, 13	nocturna in lumina cedrum.
Lucr. VI, 919	longis ambagibus
A. I, 341	longæ Ambages.
Lucr. VI, 944	manat item nobis e toto corpore sudor
A. III, 175	Tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor.
Lucr. VI, 1158	anxius angor
A.	anxius angit.

Despite the weight of much critical authority which holds that the Lucretian influence in the Aeneid, aside from metre and diction, is derogatory, one can scarcely accept that view in toto. Duff says of the De Rerum Natura: "Its thought and language sank deeply into the impressionable soul of Vergil. The borrowings are most evident ⁱⁿ ~~from~~ the Georgics but from the Eclogues onwards, by actual incorporation or vaguer echo of Lucretian phrases and reverence for Lucretian speculation, the younger poet renders homage." (1) It is true on consideration of Vergil's religious attitude that he does appear directly contradictory to the philosophy of Lucretius. This however may be explained by the fact that the Lucretian influence was partly one of sympathy, partly of antagonism. Vergil's conception of nature has its immediate origin in the thought of Lucretius;

(1) Duff. P. 300-1

18.
his religious conviction and national sentiment derive new strength by-
reaction from his predecessor" (1) On the contrary Frank holds that Vergil
remained an Epicurean to the end; "he was forty years of age and only
eleven years from his death when he published the Georgics, which are
permeated with the Epicurean view of nature; and the restatement of this
creed in the first book of the Aeneid ought to warn us that his faith in
it did not die". (2)

In many respects, at least, there is no conflict between the phi-
losophy of Lucretius and that of Vergil. Both recognize that man's hap-
piness is marred perhaps most of all by wealth and greed. Indeed Vergil's
philosophy here is fully as Epicurean as anything in the Georgics. For in-
stance note "quid non mortalia pectora cogis, Auri sacra fames". (3) Its
model we find in "avaritiae et honorum caeca cupido quae miseros homines
cogunt transcendere fines Iuris". (4) Likewise we read in Vergil "Ille, ut
opes fractae Teucrum, et Fortuna recessit, res Agamemnonias victrietaque
arma secutus, fas omne abruptit", (5) clearly an echo of the materialistic
and cynical doubt of Epicurus where the moral fiber of manhood was being
tried, for Lucretius says, "quo magis in dubiis hominem spectare periculis
convenit adversisque in rebus noscere qui sit; nam verae voces tum demum
pectore ab imo eiciuntur et eripitur persona, manet res." (6) The thought
of the one is obviously identical with the other, namely that man's true
merit can best be tested in trying moments, though of course Lucretius
speaks of man in general and Vergil of a specific case. Vergil also fol-
lows Lucretius thrice more in pointing out the evils of greed and avarice.

(1) Sellar Ch. VI, P. 199

(2) Frank ch. IX, P. 109

(3) A. III, 56

(4) Lucr. III, 59-60

(5) A. III, 53-55

(6) Lucr. III, 55-60

First in Book I of the Aeneid, 346-352, next in A. X, 365 and 373-375 where the discovery and the death of Nisus and Euryalus results from their greed for plunder and again A. X, 504-506 where Turnus exults in the gold studded belt he has won by the murder of Fallos but is later slain for the deed A. XII, 938-952. This fact then is apparent; "In their protest against the world both poets are entirely at one. - - - - -
 - - - . The Vergilian ideal, like that of Lucretius, recognized a heart at peace and independent of Fortune as a greater source of happiness than any external good".⁽¹⁾

Whenever the thought of Vergil falls into the scientific vein he is likewise a faithful follower of Lucretius. Hence from this source probably comes Vergil's description of the terror of Turnus on his approaching death. Lucretius says, "perum ubi vementi magis est commota metu mens consentire animam totam per membra videmus sudoresque ita palloremque existere toto corpore et infringi linguam vocemque aboriri caligare oculos, sonere auris, succidere artus
 (Lucr. III, 152-6)

and Vergil says "Olli membra novas solvit formidine torpor
 arrectaeque horrore comae, et voc faucibus haesit".
 (A. XII, 867-68)

and "Gema labant, gelidus concrevit frigore sanguis".
 (A. XII, 905)

and also, "Non lingua valet, non corpore notae
 Sufficiunt vires, vox aut verba sequenter".
 (A. XII, 911-12)

Vergil's first phrase, "a strange chilly terror unkits his frame" ⁽²⁾ is the keynote of his indebtedness to Lucretius here. The phrase is perhaps reminiscent of the premises of Lucretius concerning the soul wherein he ⁽³⁾ says that the mind and soul are kept together in close union and that the rest of the soul is disseminated through the whole body moving and obeying the inclination of the mind. Hence the effect of fear on the body.

(1) Sellar, ch. VI, P. 257-8

(2) A. XII, 867 (Trans by Conington)

(3) Lucr. III, 136-160

20.
Vergil by his close adherence to the thought and mention of symptoms which Lucretius describes has here again demonstrated his complete acceptance of the purely scientific observations of the great philosopher.

Again we see the philosophy of Lucretius concerning the evils of Love (1) perfectly exemplified in Aeneas at the court of Dido where the wealth of the woman (2) lavished on the man, as well as that of the man on on his mistress as in Lucretius. (3) We see Aeneas and Dido wasting their strength, neglecting their duties, (4) letting their good names stagger and (5) sicken. (6) We see Aeneas conscience stricken (7) and gnawn with remorse. The purpose of Lucretius was to give Truth to a nation whether philosophical, religious or physical. Even during Vergil's life the trend of the Roman people was toward enervating luxuries, new and fantastic religions, and degrading moral practices. It seems highly possible to me that Vergil recognizing the truth in Lucretius assault on ungoverned passion has reproduced the picture in Aeneas to show the dangers in the Social evils which menaced the moral fibre of the Roman people. At least we know he is trying to lead them back into the simpler and cleaner life of the past.

It is interesting likewise to consider the conception, held by each poet of the first man in the golden age, when the earth was young and rich. That of Lucretius (8) is of course more scientific and inclusive than Vergil's, which attempts no logical explanation of man's origin but is merely a mythological account of a mysterious past. Nevertheless the influence of Lucretius is very apparent. In fact scarcely a thought in

(1) Lucr. IV, 1120-1140

(2) A. IV, 261-4

(3) Lucr. IV, 1123 and 1125-30

(4) A. IIII, 191-94 and 265-77

(5) A. IV, 473-97

(6) A. IV, 279-82

(7) A. IV, 281

(8) Lucr.V, 784ff to 1028

21. in the few lines given to the subject by Vergil ⁽¹⁾ but seems identical with those of the older poet. Lucretius says "crescebant uteri terram radicibus apti" ⁽²⁾ while Vergil says, "gens virum truncis et duro robore nata" ⁽³⁾ thoughts quite evidently analogous. Lucretius says also, "nec commune bonum poterant spectare neque ullis moribus inter se scibant nec legibus uti" ⁽⁴⁾ and Vergil states likewise "Quis neque mos neque cultus erat" ⁽⁵⁾ Again Lucretius says, "nec robustus erat curvi moderator aratri quisquam, nec scibat ferro molirier arva nec nova defodere interram virgulta neque altis arboribus veteres decidere falcibus ramos. - - - Glandiferas inter curabant corpora quercus plerumque. Consectabantur silvestria saecula ferarum missilibus saxis et magno pondere clavae" ⁽⁶⁾ while Vergil replies, "Nec iungere tauros aut componere opes morant aut parcere parto, sed rami atque asper victu venatus alebat" ⁽⁷⁾ Then Lucretius in speaking of the decay which attacked the primitive race says, "posterius res inventast aurumque repertum, quod facile et validis et pulchris dampnit honorem" ⁽⁸⁾ and Vergil follows closely with "deterior donec paulatim ac decolor aetas et belli rabies et amor successit habendi" ⁽⁹⁾. Again Lucretius speaking of man's primitive haunts says,

"denique nota vagi silvestria templa tenebant
nympharum, quibus e scibant umori fluenta
lubrica proluvia larga lavere umida saxa".

(Lucr., V, 948-50)

and Vergil likewise has,

"Fronte sub adversa scopulis pendentibus antrum
Intus aquae dulces vivoque sedilia saxo
Nympharum domus"

(A. I, 166-8)

(1) A. VIII, 314-329

(5) A. VIII, 316

(2) Lucr. V, 808

(6) Lucr. V, 933-69

(3) A. VIII, 315

(7) A. VIII, 316-18

(4) Lucr. V, 958-59

(8) Lucr. V, 1113-1114

(9) A. VIII, 326-27.

So too Lucretius says,

"forbat sponte sua sibi quisque valere et vivere datus"
(Lucr. V, 961)

and Vergil follows him with

"Saturni gentem, haut vinclo non legibus aequam
sponte sua veterisque dei se more tenentem"
(A. VII, 235)

I have quoted at such length first because the similarity of the passages was so striking and secondly to illustrate how the lucid scientific reasoning of Lucretius colored even the most imaginative mythological creations of Vergil. It is not for me to say dogmatically that all or any of these passages which I have quoted thus far were taken by Vergil from Lucretius. I have merely been impressed with the striking similarity of thought and expression apparent in the works of the two writers.

In the Aeneid the whole conception of government is utterly imperialistic. Are we to think that Lucretius did or did not influence Vergil here? There is no evidence either way nor does it matter greatly. It is more important that one of the outstanding lessons in the Aeneid is patriotism, one of the prime motives for writing it was to inspire patriotism. Regardless of political opinion patriotism is a fundamental thing, communicable from one to another. This intangible thing Lucretius had to a high degree. In spite of the detached air with which he feigned to look on the world "he was by no means indifferent to the issues of his time",⁽¹⁾ in light of the terrible political turmoil preceding his death it is probable that he would have welcomed the quiet peaceful reign of imperial Augustus, but whatever his position politically "he was an earnest patriot"⁽²⁾ and we are perhaps justified in assuming that this fact influenced Vergil.

But Vergil owed more to him in formulating the conception of Law which he gives in the Aeneid. "Lucretius well illustrates the legal

(1) F.W.Kelsey Intro.to Lucr.P. XIV.

(2) " " " " " " " "

23. (1)
 trend of the Roman mind. He grasped the unity and harmony that underlie all natural processes, he believed in a fixed order of things, that nothing happened without cause. The universe was but eternal change under definite regulation: he believed that man stood absolutely powerless before the laws of Nature which seemed a kind of hidden force filled with destruction for all the works of man'. (2)
 Vergil's Aeneid teems with almost identically the same thought. We find it everywhere tucked in and almost covered by an elaborate bit of allegory, undertone of great events whose predestination require but little scrutiny to be apparent. In the lines "multum ille et terris iactatus et alto,

Vi superum, saepe memorem Iunonis ob iram", (3) we see this omnipotent power of Nature in the guise of a goddess, again as a devastating plague, (4) a crew of harpies, (5) a race of cyclops, (6) a storm, (7) the fire-god, (8) and also in many other portents, natural and otherwise which lead to various results, now good, now evil, now joyful, now sorrowful, but all eventually leading to destruction of one thing or another. Lucretius realized the inevitable conclusion in store for man and his helplessness to avert it, though of course, he ascribes many things to "eventa - - - corporis atque loci" (9) and not to the intervention of a divine power which works out definite destinies for mortals to follow. Lucretius unconsciously deifies nature and makes her laws immutable. (10)
 Vergil on the other hand recognizes the presence of some mysterious providence which guides the affairs of man unerringly. Each poet placed

(1) F.W.Kelsey Intro.to Lucr. P. XXXI. (5) A. III, 225-55)

(2) Lucr.V, 1233.

(6) A. III, 600ff

(3) A. I, 3-4

(7) A. I, 145-56

(4) A. III, 135-45

(8) A. V, 559-664

(9) Lucr.I, 431.

(10) Geikie further develops this thought ch.III, P. 53. "There floated through his meditations a conviction of the transcendent unity of Nature and a dim consciousness of some universal creative and regulating power", and also, "As everything seemed directed and governed by immovable law".

24.
his conception of the supreme power above that of the other to some degree. It is quite plain too that many things apparently unnatural in the Aeneid transpire only as a result of perfectly natural phenomena allegorically symbolized. Whatever the disagreement in the more speculative fields it is apparent that in the fundamental conception of untransgressable Laws which guide the universe, Vergil again owes his indebtedness to Lucretius.

It is perhaps difficult to reconcile Vergil's extensive use of fantastic mythology and his often ludicrous explanation of mysterious phenomena with the cold, scientific reasoning and the accurate divination of cause and effect which marks the work of Lucretius. However, even the latter, while sternly rejecting their actual validity is often attracted by their poetical charm and sometimes uses them for the picturesqueness as in the allegory of the seasons (V, 732). Indeed the Epicureans' teachers despite their scorn for legends are said to have employed them for pedagogical purposes in several ways. We cannot of course believe that Vergil accepted these myths in the spirit that his readers of his own time did, although he steeped himself in all the ancient lore of Italy and Greece. There are several possible explanations for these many legends which he introduces in the Aeneid. They may be used:-

To give the proper setting thus lending credence to his story

For symbolical purposes

For mere poetic adornment

For appeal to the popular imagination and belief.

Rarely if ever do they seem out of keeping, quaint as some of them are and even for the modern reader they serve to give just that air of reality which one loves in works of fiction. Vergil himself, though he apparently introduces them with all gravity and truthfulness⁽¹⁾ expresses his skepticism by such a phrase as "si credere dignum est"⁽²⁾ One of the most interesting of all such mythological accounts is the description of the entrance into Hades.⁽³⁾ This popular legend was used by Lucretius long

(1) See A. VIII, 185-7

(2) A. VI, 173

(3) A. VI, 236-242 Compare with Lucr. VI 763ff

25. years before in the *De Rerum Natura*.⁽¹⁾ Therein he refuted all the supernatural aspects with which mythology had embellished the place, giving us instead an elaborate, logical, and scientifically woven explanation based on the premises of natural law. Vergil in his earlier works had assumed a viewpoint on Hades entirely Lucretian.⁽²⁾ In spite of this Vergil gives the story as legend has it, even denying any idle superstition to exist therein,⁽³⁾ but he actually takes a phrase from Lucretius' account to make his own more striking. Glover says, "Had he been crossquestioned, he must have confessed to sharing the belief of Lucretius. - - - Vergil will avail himself of legend though, as here, it may be scientifically demonstrated to be untrue, if by any use of it he may develop some higher and poetic truth."⁽⁴⁾ This I believe clearly explains not only Vergil's use of Mythology but also accounts for the restraint which he sometimes exhibits as being due to the Lucretian influence. As further proof we note that about the jaws of Hades hang those things most torturing to man in mortal life, Sorrow, Care, Disease, Age, Fear, Hunger, Toil, Want, Suffering, War, Strife, and the souls guilty joys,⁽⁵⁾ all torments which Lucretius says "makes the life of fools a hell on earth"⁽⁶⁾ In Lucretius III 65-7 we have another striking thought, namely that foul scorn and pinching want are far removed from a life of pleasure and seem to be "et quasi i am leti portas emactarier ante", a phrase echoed in Vergil's "Vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci".⁽⁷⁾

It is on matters of religion that Vergil in the *Aeneid* appears most contradictory to the tenets of Lucretius and Epicureanism philosophy. Here as indeed wherever else the opinions of the two poets seem to

(1) Lucr. -VI, 763ff

(2) G. I, 38, also G. II, 490-3.

(3) Lucr. VI, 743, "remigi pinnarum". A. VI, 19 "remigium alarum".

(4) Glover ch. V, P. 115.

(5) A. VI, 273-81.

(6) Lucr. III, 1023 also 977-1923. (*hic Aeneas fit. Sed bene dicitur de vita*)

(7) A. VI, 273.

26.
 coincide or conflict we must, in consideration of any Lucretian influence, make large allowances for the refracting medium of alien sympathies, political, personal, and social. So in matters of religion it seems best to examine the poet's motive which guides his thought and not his own personal opinion. Indeed as it is said "in the Aeneid the presentment of Vergil's own views is complicated by the convention of epic poetry which in turn is modified by the poet's endeavor to draw it as far as may be into touch with the higher conception of divinity which mankind had learned from philosophers".⁽¹⁾ So it is that Vergil with one of his great purposes ~~xxx~~ being to reestablish the old religion, at times expresses some doubt as to the omnipotence of the ancient divinities.⁽²⁾ We have seen that Vergil was faced with the necessity of holding opinions which clearly conflict,⁽³⁾ though holding undoubted elements of truth for him in them. In his attempt to reconcile Epicureanism he at times seems to confuse rather than to reconcile.

It is on the interpretation of the word fatum and the role taken by the gods in the Aeneid that seem to mark the philosophy there not as Lucretian but Stoic.⁽⁴⁾ As for the gods Frank sums up their position very neatly by saying "the would-be gods are, in the tale not to reveal Vergil's philosophy----- they do not---but to orient the reader in the atmosphere in which Aeneas had always been conceived as moving. They perform the same function as the heroic acoutrements and architecture for a correct description of which Vergil visited ancient temples and studied Cato".⁽⁵⁾ But the fatum or fata is a different matter to which or whom even the gods and all things else are obedient. As I have pointed out⁽⁶⁾ Lucretius also recognized some great regulative power which laid down untransgressable laws. Indeed this idea seems to be an integral part of the Roman

(1) Glover ch.XI, P. 293

(2) A. I, 603-4, also V, 17-18, IX, 184 and I, 11.

(3) Glover ch.II, P. 63

(4) Frank ch.XV, P.184-6 refutes this idea.

(5) " " " P.187-8

(6) See above P. 23 & 10.

27.
 national faith due probably to the fact that "the unvarying result of their national discipline and policy, and of the force accumulated through centuries before they became corrupted by the gains of conquest, might well appear to a race, gifted with little speculative capacity to be determined and accomplished by an omnipotent behind them".⁽¹⁾ So Vergil conscious of this faith strengthened it by making it determine, for the most part the action of the Aeneid. For the most he seems to make man's destiny as definitely determined and unchangeable. This in itself is not entirely out of keeping with Lucretius who says,

nec sanctum numen fati protollere fines
 posse neque adversus naturae foedera niti
(Lucr. 309-10)

However Lucretius recognizes only the certainty of death and decay. In all other things he considers that man has the power to struggle against and resist fate. What others consider destiny he rates as due to events - - - corporis atque loci. Nor does Vergil disagree entirely with this idea. He also attributes some freedom of will and action to man. In A.I, 299 Dido if left nescia fati might thwart the fates, in IV,697 she does this by dying before her time, and Turnus had every opportunity to have escaped his death by refusing to meet Aeneas in battle. Thus it is apparent from such instances that Vergil's conception of destiny and free-will are not at all contradictory to the Epicurean code since his divinities are subjected to the same laws as mortals are.

On the other hand it must be admitted that the sixth Aeneid is not Epicurean but Stoic. Indeed it is a syncretism of mystical beliefs and popular philosophies. Frank says, "neither Epicurean nor orthodox Stoic could provide the mystical setting needed".⁽²⁾ Whatever the philosophy which he appears to use here his analyses of life are his own deepest convictions.

Vergil's early training and environment influenced him irrevocably. Prudentius says, "His first food was the sacred meal, his earliest sight the sacred candles and the family gods growing black with

(1) Sellar ch.X, P. 341
 (2) Frank ch.XV, P.189

holy oil. He saw his mother pale at her prayers before the sacred stone and he too would be lifted by his nurse to kiss it in his turn" With such an environment surrounding him from birth we little need Glover's statement ("certainly the past, and above all the old religion of Italy exercised a strange charm on Vergil, which survived all his studies in Alexandrian literature and Epicurean philosophy".) to understand the possible welling up of superstitious awe even long after reaching maturity of mind and body. Perhaps it is for this reason that he has Aeneas veil his head as he sacrifices ⁽¹⁾ and that similarly solemn rites occur throughout the entire work, rites which Lucretius had flayed with burning scorn and shown their utter inanity. But Vergil also was writing for the Roman people, a people most inherently religious whose history and daily life was infused with omens, augurs, and mystical ceremonies. How could he do otherwise in view of his readers and his dominant purpose than follow to the letter the elaborate religious observances made requisite by custom. We cannot however feel that it is all entirely sincere, "Vergil had before him the precedent of Lucretius invoking in Venus a heavenly power in whom he did not believe, and the Epicureanism which he expresses shows that he did not and could not believe in Augustus' god-head". ⁽²⁾ Vergil if he was to write the epic of the Roman people was necessarily forced by popular belief to introduce Heaven with its divinities and Hades with its rewards, its punishments and its spirits, a belief in itself absolutely contradictory to Lucretius' teachings. Since various opinions were held on the sway of the gods, very wisely Vergil gave it a general treatment. Glover says, "the early influence of Siro and still more of Lucretius could never be wholly eradicated from his mind". ⁽³⁾ Vergil's adherence to Epicurus depended more on training than conviction. But more than anything else we must remember that he is pre-eminently a poet rather than a philosopher or a theologian and we must expect him to treat this subject, like others, with the full freedom of a poet. ⁽⁴⁾

(1) A. III, 404-545

(3) Glover ch.X, P. 234

(2) Glover ch.VII, P.169

(4) Glover ch.X, P. 234

Though we find much in Vergil that is clearly not Epicurean as it concerns death, Glover says that "it is part of the greatness of Vergil that after an Epicurean training he was able to grasp and use the real contribution of the other side, without surrendering the freedom which Lucretius had taught him to prize". Hence we see that here too, Lucretius greatly influenced Vergil paradoxical as it may seem. ⁽¹⁾ Even Lucretius could not overlook the popular dread of punishment after death and he gives us a long discourse on it in Book III 109-155 of *De Rerum Natura*, a discourse bearing the thought that man's mind makes his own heaven or hell, his own reward or punishment. So too Vergil gives us similar thoughts when he says,

"Quae vobis, quae digna, viri pro laudibus istis

praemia posse rear solvi? pulcherrima primum

di moresque dabunt vestri". (A. IX, 252)

or

"Di tibi (si quis pios respectant numina, siquid

usquam instituta est et mens sibi conscia recte)

praemia digna ferant". (A. I, 607)

again

"Dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt,

Euryale, and sua cui que deus fit dira cupido?" (A. VI, 184)

and also

"Quam vellent aethere in alto

nunc et pauperiam et duros preferre labores". (A. VI, 436)

which is to say that the punishment of innocent people who have quailed or shirked their task on earth is only the sense of failure. From the fate that overtakes each of the first characters speaking just above we infer that Vergil in reality used the divinities which doled out reward and punishment only as a poetic vehicle while he looked to man's state of mind as the truest medium of divine justice. We can readily see that Vergil considers service or attempted service to the state as the best thing man could do. He does not even reward Aeneas with the glories of ruling as Emperor. He leaves him happy in the realization that he has

(1) Glover, CHX

30.
paved the way. Yet this underlying belief is not that which he expresses in the sixth Aeneid, but instead a picture of actual physical bliss or torture. Perhaps Vergil's position with the imperial court best explains his attitude on the subject, at any rate we know it was to the state's advantage that people should be deceived in religion. Hence the character of the sixth Aeneid.

Nevertheless Vergil elsewhere does accept much of Epicurean philosophy in regard to death. True he cannot disavow immortality but the characters he creates accept death with calmness if they are noble, indeed they await it eagerly as release from earthly trials, and when base he portrays them as cringing and terror stricken just as were those poor superstition laden mortals pictured by Lucretius. So too the latter says, "tu quidem ut es leto sopitus, sic eris aevi

"quod superest cunctis privato doloribus aegris:" and expresses the only consolation possible for a Materialist. And Vergil with exactly the same thought says, "tuque, O sanctissima coniunx

Felix morte tua neque in hunc servata dolorem". And again Lucretius says, "at nos horrifice cinefactum te propw busto

insatiabiliter deflevimus, deternunque
nulla dies nobis macerorem e pictore demet"
(Lucr. III, 906-8)

while Vergil has, "ardentis spectant socios semustoque servant
busta neque avelli possunt".
(A. XI, 200-1)

Vergil has apparently for the time being, taken over completely this bit of materialistic philosophy. At any rate he does not have Evander refer to any bliss of future life which for the most part is dominant in Vergil's own religious philosophy.

(1) A. X, 521-522 A. X, 596-599 also 855

(2) Lucr. III, 870-900

(3) Lucr. III, 904-905

(4) A. XI, 158-159-see also A. X, 855

Broadly speaking, Lucretius was a rank unbeliever in immortality. Yet in his materialistic way he argues that soul is only matter which is broken up at death but later reassembled into various living forms. Hence we see that he really does admit a kind of immortality. Whatever he thought about the matter concerns us little. "The important thing about Lucretius is not his scientific premises but that he taught man how to die".⁽¹⁾ Vergil on the other hand gives us a beautiful picture of the after life of souls, a strong argument for immortality. Yet in Aeneas the ideal of Vergil we at times have a philosophy almost identical with that of Lucretius concerning life and death. For instance let us examine Lucr. III, 930-977 wherein we see the seeming uselessness, the monotonous repetition, the empty joys, the ceaseless cares that grace mortal life, contrasted with the joy of endless sleep and rest after death. Then how familiarly ring the incredulous words of Aeneas as he heard his father tell how souls were eagerly waiting transmigration; how he marvels that any should desire to leave those realms of untroubled and peaceful bliss for the toils and troubles of an earthly life, as he says,

"O pater, anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire pertandum est
 sublimes animas iterumque ad tarda reverti corpora?
 quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido".⁽²⁾

Aeneas had seen enough of life; he here exhibits completely the attitude of Lucretius and death to him could be nothing but welcome, a release from the tribulations of statesmanship, war, and authority.

(See also A. XI, 158, A. IX, 425 and 480-500. A. X, 855)

And later just as Lucretius comforts⁽³⁾ men with the thought that great as was the greatest of all men, Epicurus, even he was called to meet death so, when the doom of Pallas is apparent and Alcides mourns over it, Vergil has Jupiter say

"Stat sua cuique dies; breve et irreparabile tempus
 Omnibus est vitae:-- -- -- --
 -- -- -- -- Etiam sua Turnum

Data vocant, metasque date pervenit ad aevi".⁽⁴⁾

(1) Duff's Lit. Hist. of Rome P. 290

(3) Lucr. III, 1042

(2) A. VI, 719

(4) A. X, 467-472.

And so we find that Vergil even when most contradictory of Epicureanism still turns to Lucretius for justification, for illustration, and even for spiritual encouragement of a kind, and yet there is an underlying note of sadness in Vergil when he speaks of death incompatible with that philosophy. Though the poet in Vergil cannot accept the fact of death,⁽¹⁾ the philosopher in him could not see how to escape it. He loved the old religion and the "pietas" of his fathers but he could not be unmindful of its shortcomings. Yet how significant it is to turn from Lucretius discoursing on the crimes, even murder done in the name of religion, and compare with it Vergil's picture of⁽²⁾ the Trojan and Rutulian armies drawn up on either side of an altar, the solemn sacrifices, the plighted faith, the suppliant prayers, a perfectly natural phenomena of nature interpreted by an evil prompting to be a sign from heaven, the quick murder of an innocent man and the altar is defiled with blood as innocent as that of Iphigennia's, all in the name of religion. Vergil recognized the truth in Lucretius' railings but nevertheless the old religion poor as it was, offered much which the poet felt to be true, something he could cling to with faith and hope, but "his mind and reason go with the philosophers".⁽³⁾ And that perhaps is why we find the mark of Lucretius, on Vergil's religion, along with the deeper impress left on his science, his nature, and his poetry.

And now we come to Vergil's philosophy of life as exemplified in Aeneas. We have shown the great influence that Lucretius exercised on Vergil from his youth up. It is possible that Vergil in admiration for his intellect unconsciously raised him to the heights making him an ideal figure. At any rate we can expect to find a philosophy which so permeates the earlier years of a writer, entering into the creations even of his latter years. That the character of the true Epicurean was not a type

(1) Glover ch. XII, P. 332

(2) A. XII, 161-226

(3) Glover ch. XII, P. 305

the opposite of such an ideal as Vergil chooses is shown by the lives of the two greatest Epicureans. Diogenes Laertius declares Epicurus himself to have been "a man of excessive modesty (which caused him to avoid affairs of state), of filial gratitude, of philanthropy and piety".⁽¹⁾ How strange that the bulworks of Aeneas' character should be formed of these same attributes. But we expect Vergil to turn to a Roman in the main for a portrayal of the ideal Roman. Consider this statement of Kelsey's,⁽²⁾

"Lucretius was to the core a Roman. He represented a folk character that in its view of life and duty was stern, unyielding, the very opposite of all that is light and joyous. Yet he had a sympathy with suffering which a glimpse of tenderness now and then reveals. He had an aim outside himself, he was an earnest patriot, he strove to enlighten his people. He realized the presence of a mysterious force which seemed bent on man's ~~the~~ destruction. The sense of the misery of humanity seemed ever present with him and an undertone of sadness runs like a minor chord through his works. He is the poet of progress but for himself all things are ever the same and there is only a round of circumscribed joys". Is it not significant that the lineaments of Vergil's ideal "pater patria" should be drawn to exactly the same scale? We see Aeneas caught in the grip of higher powers, a great destiny forced upon him, we see him brooding over the weight of miseries and misfortune incurred through his responsibilities; he too is stern and unyielding in his view toward life, he occasionally reveals glimpses of tenderness though there is nothing joyous in his whole existence. The human element we see in his "non sponte sequor" and in his few moments of relaxation to human passions as with Dido and on the battle field. Yet even here he takes no real joy in his acts; he is conscious stricken in one case over his lack of duty and remorseful in another for the necessity which causes him to shed human blood. He has a great duty to perform but is only a sense of duty that carries on.

(1) Burt's Hist. of Greek Philosophy. P. 217

(2) Kelsey. P. XIV, ff

In his character as in the life and work of Lucretius runs an undertone of sadness like a minor chord. He too realizes the part he has to play in the nature of things and is resigned to his fate perfectly conscious that he is but a cog in the wheel, that nature or rather human progress needs more matter and that his labors are to supply it. Just as is said of Lucretius so it is true of Aeneas that "whatever the defects or inconsistencies of his philosophy we may well pay homage to the exalted purpose of the man".⁽¹⁾ And so in light of these facts we perhaps may again point to the influence of Lucretius as the guiding force in Vergil's portraiture of a great and noble character.

In conclusion then we mark either directly or indirectly, in Lucretius and thereby Epicurean philosophy a decided influence on the flowing rythm of Vergil's verse, on the lucid vigouousness of his expression, on the scientific treatment of Nature and mythology, on his deep comprehension of man's temper, on his broader sympathy with humanity and on his clearer understanding of the differences between social and virtue^{and} ritualistic observance.

(1) Kelsey P. XVI.

Finis.

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